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THE SPANISH PARTICLE *HE*.

THE following observations are in the main intended to contribute to our knowledge of the Spanish language previous to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Similar to *he* in sense and syntax are *e*, *ahe*, *ae*, *fe*, *afe*.

A. *HE*.

1. Diez, *Et. Wb.*⁴, p. 458 s. v. *He*, observes: "*He* in *he-me*, *he-te* . . . sp. adverb, sieh, *ecce*; statt *fe-me* u. s. f. und dies aus *ve-me* = lat. *vide me*. . . ." The semasiological side of this etymology is unimpeachable, but not so the phonetic side. For as Mod. *h-* does not necessarily proceed from *f-*, it was to be proved and not to be taken for granted that *he* is later than *fe*. Judging merely from the evidence of the MSS, just the opposite is the case. *He* occurs already in a MS of the beginning of the thirteenth century (*Reyes Magos*), *he*, *e*, *ahe* appear in a MS of the last third of the same century (*Est. God.*), while *fe*, *afe* are found for the first time in a MS of the beginning of the fourteenth century (*P. Cid*). I shall admit the objection that in the latter case the spelling of the scribe may be that of the author, which would make *fe* a form of the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹ I shall not yield, however, to the objection that the MS of the *Reyes Magos* reads vss. 12 *prohio*, 26 *hata*, 116 *ata*, and that vs. 127 *he* likewise presupposes an earlier *fe*. As for *prohio*, the history of medial *f* in compounds seems as obscure as that of initial *f* of other than Lat. origin, and, after all, we are in this case not dealing with initial *f*. *Ata* (instanced very early, cf. F. Avilés 9) seems to me an earlier form than *fata*; cf. also Baist, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, p. 365. At any rate, I insist that *he*, of uncertain etymology, may be just as well a primary form. Such an opinion is supported by the fact that *he*, *e*, *ahe* are used

¹ BAIST in GRÖBER'S *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 397, dates the *P. Cid* "um die Mitte des 12. Jhs. oder kurz nach ihr." I cannot agree with him. Cf. BAIST, op. cit., p. 388, and BEER, *Zur Überlieferung asp. Literaturdenkmäler*, 1898, p. 28.

exclusively in some of the earliest texts, e. g., *Est. God.*, Berceo, and that *he*, *e*, *ahē* are altogether too numerous before the end of the fourteenth century¹—my collectanea show forty-five forms with or without *h* over against forty-two forms with *f*—to be accidental spellings of *fe*, *afe*. Now, it is very remarkable that, of the *f*-forms, *afe* is almost limited to the *P. Cid* (only two out of twenty-three cases occur elsewhere; cf. p. 26), and *fe* is found about as many times in the *P. Cid* as in all the other texts together (eight times out of eighteen, cf. p. 25). The difference between *he* and *fe* is therefore one of dialect,² and not one of chronology.

Further, *fe* < *ve* is not utterly impossible, but should be resorted to only after all other attempts at a more satisfactory etymology have failed. Of the Span. instances of initial *f* < *v*³ given by Diez, *Gramm.*⁵, p. 236 (= ³Vol. I, p. 288), *fisca*(?)—*hisca* has been eliminated by Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, Vol. III, p. 462; *fampa*(?) (not known to Hidalgo—in Mier, *Origenes*—nor to Covarrubias (1673), Salvá¹¹, the Dict. of the Academy¹³)—*hampa* (also *ampa*, e. g., Nov. ej., p. 97; Quevedo, Vol. III, p. 116b) is a *Germania*-word; finally, *femencia*—*hemencia* may be a case of popular etymology (influence of *fe*, *fementido*).⁴ As for Lat. *fitiatus* for *vitiatus* Samsonis Abbatis Cordub. Apologeticus Lib. II, cap. viii. —*Esp. Sagr.*, Vol. XI², p. 412 (referred to by Diez, loc. cit.); *fi* for *vi* Flor. Dig. XVIII, vi, 9 and other examples in Schuchardt, *Vokal. d. Vulgärl.*, Vol. I, p. 183; Sp. *Fanegas* for *Vanegas* S. Teresa, Vol. II, p. 80a; *fisitas* for *visitas* p. 273b, granted they are mispronunciations, are those of individuals and not of com-

¹ Cf. BAIST, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, pp. 351, 381.

² According to Cornu (cf. BAIST in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 397 n. 3) and LIDFORSS, *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*, p. vii, the dialect of the *P. Cid* is Asturian.

³ Final *e* after *v* is sometimes dropped contrary to the rule. Final *v* then generally becomes *f*: P. Cid 40 *nuef*. FÉROTIN, p. 234 (1260) *claf*. Jonas [1, 3] (MS Esc. I. j. 6—first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *naf*. Act. 28, 11 (same MS—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 399) *naf* (but S. TERESA, Vol. I, p. 486b *nav*). J. RUIZ 671 *nief*.

In the same way final *v* (= *b*) > *f*: P. Cid 3320 *off* < *ove*. 3321 *of*.

In *ahuelo* Corvacho, p. 126 (V. L. *avuelo*); J. RODRÍGUEZ, pp. 224, 232; LUCAS FERNÁNDEZ, pp. 9, 202; *ahuela* J. RODRÍGUEZ, p. 224, *h* does not represent intervocalic *v*, but is epenthetic. *Avuelo*—*avuelo*—*auelo* (cf. J. RODRÍGUEZ, p. 232 *avelo*)—*ahuelo*.

In *hueco*, if from *vocuu* (CORNÜ in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 767), *h* is prosthetic.

⁴ Especially, if the Latin basis was *vementia* and not *vehementia*. A rather late example of the first is given by DUCANGE (Favre), s. v.; better attested is *vemens* GEORGES, *Lex. d. lat. Wortf.*, s. v. *vehemens*. A different view will be found in MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. I, § 427. Cf. also CORNÜ in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 766.

munities. They show, however, that the possibility of *f*-<*v*- cannot be denied.

2. Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, Vol. X, p. 7 n., expresses his opinion about the etymology of *he* as follows:

He è nella sua più antica forma: *afé*. . . . Vi veggo io un' affermazione sacramentale che si è ridotta a mera espressione resolutiva o eccitativa (cfr. il lat. *hercle* o l' it. *gnàffe* = *mia fé*): *affé* che vengo = *eccomi pronto a venire*.

Ascoli, therefore, connects the *afe* of the *P. Cid*, for there it appears earliest, with *fe* < *fide*. The original meaning of *afe* then would be *profecto*, i' *faith*.

Unfortunately an *afe* (generally *a fe*) = *profecto* is not found until Encina, cf. p. 5, in other words, three centuries after the *P. Cid*. The usual form before this time is *a la fe*, thus Alex. 320 (+1); 596 (*A la fet*); J. Ruiz 743; 768; 873; 1328; 1494; 1623; (with the latter also *ala he*: 930; 961; 1492); Lucanor, p. 160. The *afe* of the *P. Cid*, however, means, no doubt, *ecce* and is a dialectal form of *ahe*.

A construction like the one mentioned by Ascoli, i. e., *a fe* (!) followed by *que*¹ and a finite verb and meaning *profecto* is very frequently met with since Encina; e. g., Encina, p. 288 *Á fé que es bella!* Diego Sanchez, Vol. I, p. 91 *Mas si culpa ella tenta, Á fe que bien lo pagó*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 9, 217 *A fee, que no seria malo!* Vol. II, p. 268, 125 *A fee, que tal no estara*. Vol. III, p. 224, 346 Ypocresia. *Hija, soy la Ypocresia*. Alma. *A fe, que lo paresceis*. D. Quix. II, 40 *pues a fê que no teneis razon*. Tirso, p. 64c *¿A fe que se casaria?* Before this time I know of *afe* (!) *que* only in the *P. Cid*: vs. 2140 *Dixo Albarfanez*: "*señor, afe que me plaz*," and three other instances, cf. p. 27. But though the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* and the *á fé que* of Encina resemble each other very much, I cannot believe that they are of the same meaning and origin. The total lack of *afe* = *profecto* in the *P. Cid* as well as in early literature is decidedly against the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* = *profecto*. On the other hand, during all the time I have no trace of *afe que*, I find *he que*, *ahe que* translating *ecce* (a) and *en* (b):

¹ Cf. TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. I², p. 57.

a) Is. 7, 14¹ *Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium.* MS Esc. I. j. 6 (first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *He que concibra una virgen e parra fijo.* MS Esc. I. j. 4 (fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 406) *Ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo.* Biblia Alba,² p. 25 *ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo.*

Cant. 1, 14³ *Ecce, tu pulchra es, amica mea, ecce tu pulchra es, oculi tui columbarum.* 15 *Ecce, tu pulcher es, dilecte mi* Biblia Alba, p. 43 *ahe que tu hermosa eres, la mi querida, ahe que tu hermosa tu eres e los tus ojos palomos: ahe que tu eres hermoso, el mi querido*

Cant. 2, 8⁴ *Vox dilecti mei, ecce, iste venit saliens in montibus.* Hohelied, p. 2 *Voz del mio amigo. he que este viene saliendo los oteros.*

b) Cant. 2, 9⁵ *En, ipse stat post parietem nostrum.* Hohelied, p. 2 *he que el esta tras nuestra paret.*

Cant. 3, 7⁶ *En, lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel.* Biblia Alba, p. 44 *ahe que la su cama de salomon sesenta barraganes la circundan de los fortissimos de israel.*

The MS containing the *Hohelied*, Esc. I. j. 6, is dated by Berger, *Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 560, from the first half of the fourteenth century, the language itself by Cornu from the thirteenth century. Under the circumstances, it will be safe to conclude that the *afe que* of *P. Cid* means *ecce* and is a dialectal form of *ahe que*.

¹ Cf. MS Esc. Y. j. 8 (fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 380) *Evad, que concebira virgen y parira fijo.* MS Esc. I. j. 3 (fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 514) *Ahe la virgen prennada e parira fijo.* Biblia Ferr. (1553—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 539) *he la alma conciben* (cf. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Poema de Yúçuf*, 1902, p. 41 § 4) *y parien hijo.* Biblia Ferr. (Ed. of Vienna, 1832—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 539 n. 2) *He la moça ençentada y parira h.*

² I see no reason why Mosé Arragel, in this and the following quotations, should have deviated from the Latin text, but I have no means of controlling the matter. Cf. BERGER, *Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 523.

³ Cf. Hohelied, p. 2 *O que hermosa eres mi amiga o que hermosa. los oios de palomas.* 15 *O que hermoso eres mio amigo.*

⁴ Cf. Biblia Alba, p. 43 *la voz del mi querido es este que viene, que salta sobre los montes.* Paraphrasia caldaica; En los cantares de Selomoh, . . . Anno 5424=1664 (GRÜNBAUM, p. 30) *Boz de mi querido, hé este vinien: saltan sobre los Montes.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 32) *Voz de mi amado, helo viene atravancando por los montes.*

⁵ Cf. Biblia Alba, p. 43 *este es el que esta tras la nuestra pared.* Paraph. cald. (GRÜNBAUM, p. 30) *hé este están detras de nuestra pared.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 32) *Helo . . . tras nuestra pared.*

⁶ Cf. Hohelied, p. 3 *El lecho de Salomon. sesenta arzeziados le guardan de los mas fuertes de Israel.*

It is also clear that, if *afe* and *á fé que* = *profecto* (< Lat. *fide*) cannot be found before Encina, the *afe* and *afe que* = *ecce* of the *P. Cid* must have some other origin than Lat. *fide*.

Even if earlier instances of *afe* = *profecto* could be adduced, and it could be made probable that the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* means *profecto*, i' *faith*—the line between *ecce* and *profecto* in this case is, I admit, difficult to draw—even then I should doubt whether the *afe* = *ecce* of the *P. Cid* has anything to do with *afe* = *profecto*, i. e., with *fe* < *fide*. For *afe* = *profecto* differs entirely in syntax from *afe* = *ecce*. *Afe* = *profecto*, as a rule, appears in sentences with a finite verb; *afe* = *ecce* I know only in sentences without a finite verb. *Afe* = *profecto* serves to modify all kinds of sentences, including negative and interrogative sentences: Encina (*Antología*, Vol. VII, p. 28) *Ni yo soy tan bouo afé, Que no sé . . .* Autos, Vol. I, p. 341, 310 *No lo hiziera yo, a fee*. Salamantina 901 *Pues, a fe, no la* (sc. la morzilla) *lleueys*. Autos, Vol. II, p. 55, 194 *Mas, a fee, no soy hermosa?* Vol. III, p. 185, 154 *Que no me conoçe, a fee?* *Afe* = *ecce* is restricted to positive, declarative sentences. *Afe* = *profecto* is never followed by a pronoun or noun in the acc., nor does Italian or any other Romance or Germanic language offer an analogon. Yet this is the primary and prevailing use of *afe* = *ecce*. *Afe* = *profecto* is never accompanied by an ethical dative of a pronoun of the 2. pers., while *afe* = *ecce* frequently is.

Finally, I reject *afe* = *profecto* as the source of *he* = *ecce* for the further reason that neither in Italian nor in Spanish such an *afe* has become merely *fe*. In Spanish we find in dialectal and popular use a *he*: Lucas Fernandez, p. 18 *Dilo, dilo, dilo á hé*; Autos, Vol. III, p. 314, 548 *Cata, cata, digo, a he, que . . .*, but not *he*. And it exists still as a *fe*.

3. Ford, following a suggestion of Bello (in his edition of the *P. Cid*, p. 350,—*hé* < *fé* < *afé* < *habete*) has tried, in this journal, Vol. I, pp. 49–53, to put the latter etymology on a scientific basis. His own words (p. 51) are:

If . . . with Ascoli and Bello we believe that *afe* was an earlier form than *fe*, and if we assume, as the facts adduced may indicate,¹ that

¹ Refers to Ford's restoration of *afeuos* for *afe* in a number of "imperfect" hemistichs

afe was in the inception accompanied by *uos*, which was first dropped, perhaps, in the more rapid interjectional use, then we may be safe in deriving the form from *habete* plus *vos* (a). From this would come (*h*)*abedvos*, of which the *h* was phonetically valueless, the *b* not distinguishable in value from the *v*, and the combination *dv* one that could not long persist (b). We see a partial assimilation of the *d* in the *auello* of [Cid] 496 (c); it is completely assimilated, that is absorbed, in the *Crónica rimada*, vs. 345: Rey, dueña so lasrada, è *avéme* piedat (*d*). Before the retained *v* of Old Spanish *vos*, we may suppose a disappearance of the *d* similar to that in *avéme*. Then, by a process of dissimilation in the resulting *avevos* we should obtain the form *afevos* (e) and with a dropping of the *vos*, which still retained its identity, we should have the independent *afe*.

My objections to this theory are the following:

The semasiological part of the etymology is not discussed at all.

a) Even if we base our consideration wholly on the *P. Cid*, the primary use of *afe* in the form *afeuos* is not free from doubt. Over against nine instances of *afeuos* in the MS (152. 262. 476. 1255. 1431. 1499. 1568. 2230. 2368), we have twelve of *afe* without *uos* (505. 1317. 1597. 2088. 2101. 2135. 2175. 2222. 2381. 2947. 3393. 3407). In order to change¹ in three of the latter instances (2175. 2222. 3393) *afe* to *afeuos*, Ford avails himself of the opinion that the verse of the *P. Cid* is the *verso de romance*. But, in the first place, this is still a matter of discussion. In the second place, if a change is to be made, it must not needs be that of *afe* to *afeuos* (cf. for vs. 2222, Cornu, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXI, p. 502). For the same reason I decline to accept the change of *fe* to *afeuos* in vss. 1335. 1452. 2647. 3534. 3701.

b) The combination *dv* did persist. Cf., e. g., Cuervo, *Notas*⁶, p. 108 and Gessner, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XVII, p. 4:

Bei *vos* [wenn es hinter den Imperativ tritt] lag für die Beseitigung des *d* kein Grund vor, und demnach ist *amadvos* die überall angetroffene Bildung, so lange überhaupt *vos* im Gebrauche blieb.²

It is unnecessary to give instances when, e. g., pp. 91–93 of *Boc. Oro* offer a dozen. Ford's etymology is, therefore, impossible.

c) As for the "partial assimilation" of the *d* in *P. Cid* 496

¹ If the "imperfect" *afe*-lines were to be changed, why have not the imperfect *afeuos*-lines (476. 1499. 2368) deserved the same treatment?

² Cf. GESSNER, loc. cit.: "Mit dem Beginn des 16. Jahrh. kann *vos* so ziemlich als erloschen gelten." He means, of course, the oblique case.

auello for which phenomenon Ford, p. 50 n. 2, refers to P. Cid 2136 *Prendellas con uuestras manos e daldas alos yfantes* and Crón. rim. 375 *Al rey que vos servides, servillo muy sin arte*, Ford might have quoted also, e. g., P. Cid 887 *Honores e tierras auellas condonadas, Hyd e venit* Bello, *Poema del Cid*, p. 316, in discussing *prendellas*, leaves the question open whether *ll < dl* or *< rl*, i. e., whether we are dealing with the form of the imper. or with that of the inf. Damas Hinard, *Poème du Cid*, pp. 38 n., 145 n., lxxxvii n., 63 n., sees in the first part of the combinations *auello*, *prendellas*, *servillo*, *auellas* the inf. and calls (p. 38 n.) the use of the inf. instead of the imper. a "licence grammaticale fort usitée au moyen âge, et dont nous retrouverons plus d'un exemple dans le Poème." Cuervo, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 261, says with regard to P. Cid 2136 *prendellas* and Alex. 920 *tenellos*: "asimilación extraña, si no es que deba tomarse como errata, *prendetlas*, *tenetlos*, ó como aplicación del infinitivo en sentido de imperativo." Lidforss, *Los Cantares de myo Cid*, p. 129, note to vss. 1356, 7, considers P. Cid 887 *auellas* = *avedlas*. So does Cornu, *Literaturbl.*, 1897, c. 331, note to vs. 1357. I myself have come to a *non liquet*.

We are not compelled to regard P. Cid 496 *auello* as resulting from *auedlo*. The inf. is, indeed, frequently employed for an imper., cf., e. g., Cuervo, *Notas*, p. 62, and *rl > ll* is common, cf. Cuervo, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 252. Nor must P. Cid 2136 *prendellas* presuppose *prendedlas* because it is co-ordinated with an imper. Cf. J. Ruiz 762 *señora, dexar* (sic) *duelo e faset el cabo de año*. Torres Naharro, Vol. II, p. 119 *Mas pagadme mi soldada Y dexar de castigar*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 430, 114 *y prended y maniar* (:) *a quantos xpianos son*. Vol. III, pp. 443, 482 *Andad, y servir a Dios; y estad en la compañía de los vuestros padres dos*. 497, 425 *Yglesia, madre y señora, doleros de mi gran caida, y rremediad esta vida*.—S. Emper., p. 534, 52 *Tomat el salto: ó ledamente et de grado fazet todo nuestro talante, ó beber de la agua salgada*.

On the other hand, *auello* may be *auedlo*—*aueldo*, for apparently there are cases of *ld > ll*. *Alcalles*,¹ *alcall* has been pointed

¹ An instance of *alcalles* as early as the year 1125 will be found in FÉROTIN, p. 54.

out by Diez, *Et. Wb.*, p. 417 s. v. *Alcalde*; *rollo* by Baist in Gröber's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 706, § 50. I would add *cabillo* and *humille*. Cf. for *cabillo*, Milagr. 310. 546. 552. 714; F. Juzgo, *Glos.*, s. v.; Férotin, *Index général*, s. v. (from documents dated 1317 and 1338). *Humille* is met with in Rim. Pal. 1331 *A los vmilles ensalça*; Biblia Alba, p. 67 *E al tu marido humille seras*; Iosaphat, p. 343 *sabedes a que cosas son estas semejables ? a los homilles, los quales eran cubiertos*. . . . More frequent is perhaps *humil*: J. Ruiz 463 *estando delante ella, sossegado e muy omyl*(:). 1096 *Estaua delante del su alferes homil*(:). Rim. Pal. 1192 *O el humil que es susio* . . . Crón. D. Pedro, pp. 162 *con homil reverencia*, 163 *item*, 459 *con humil reverencia*. Corvacho, pp. 187 *Thu Xpo, fijo de la humil, graciosa e abogada nuestra*. 302 *eres falsa, bygarda*, . . . *vmil aparte de fuera*. Valdés, *Diál. de la lengua* (Boehmer), p. 385, 18: "Humil por humilde se dize bien en verso, pero pareceria muy mal en prosa." *Humilmente* occurs Rim. Pal. 240 (l. *humilment*), 385, 631 (*vmilmente*), 1453, 1487 (*omilmente*), 1521, 1601 (*Vmilmente*), and still more often later, especially in poetry but also in prose: e. g., S. Juan de la Peña, p. 24; J. Rodríguez, pp. 215, 305. *Humillad* I find once Iosaphat, p. 351.—In *humille*, *humillar* may not have been without influence, as in *humil*, *fácil*.

d) Concerning the "complete assimilation" of *d* to *m* in Crón. rim. 345 *avéme* *piadat*, I believe it to be impossible. Loss of *-d*,¹ however, is extremely improbable for the *Crón. rim*. I find in the poem a great number of imperatives in *-d* (*-t*), but no case of loss of *-d*. The difficulty is easily solved, if we read with the MS and Duran (against Michel and Damas Hinard) *aueme*; or, if an accent is thought necessary, *áueme*.

The early existence of *ave* is assured.²

¹ For the loss of inflectional *-d*, BELLO, *Gram.*⁶, § 614, gives instances from the classics. VALDÉS, *Diál. de la leng.*, p. 369, rejects the apocopated forms. They are already frequent in the early dramatists (Encina, etc.), the apocope affecting here also the nouns in *-d*.

² To the instances of *ave* earlier than the sixteenth century, given in my *Prelim. Notes on . . . the Disticha Catonis*, n. 16, I would add: Est. God., p. 42 *et perdona á los que tú quisieres, et ave dolor de la tierra*. SANCHE IV, pp. 125a *Habe paciencia en tí*. 176b *E cree en Dios que es sobre todo, é habe buena fianza en él*. 187a *é piensa siempre de las aventuras que pueden acaescer, é habe providencia en las cosas de aventura*. 216a *Aremiémbrate, Señora, del servicio que en algund tiempo te fice, é habe merced de mí*. 221b *Habe misericordia de mí, fijo de David*. PLÁCIDAS, p. 155 *ayúdales e ave dellos mercet*. Rrey Guill., p. 186

The fact that an inferior might address the king by *tu* is attested, e. g., by Crón. rim. 466 "*Cata, dixo (sc. Rodrigo), 'buen rey, que te trayo, magüera non so tu vassallo: de cinco lides que te prometi el dia que tú me oviste desposado, vencido he la una'*" 500 *Sopolo el conde e fuésse para el rey: 'Señor, pessete del tu daño; Calahora e Tudela forçada te la ha el buen rey don Fernando'*" 625 *Dixo (sc. Rodrigo): 'Rey, mucho me plase, porque non so tu vassallo. Rey, fasta que non te armasses, non devias tener reynado; ca non esperas palmada de moros nin de christianos; mas ve velar al padron de Santiago'*"

It is true that Ximena Gomez later (vss. 349 ff.) in speaking to the king uses the *plur. rev.* But change from *tu* to *vos* and *vice versa* is not rare.¹ Cf. Crón. rim. 570 "*¿Dormides, Rodrigo de Bivar? tiempo has de ser acordado'*" 864 *Vey la seña sin engaño, que en tal logar vos la pondré antes del sol cerrado, do* 953 *e dixo (sc. el rey): 'Rodrigo, pues en mill e novecientos fesistes grand daño, de los tuyos ¿quanto (!) te fincaron, sy a Dios ayas pagado?'* Further, P. Cid 409 *Mientra que visquieredes bien se fara lo to* (in assonance). Maria Eg., p. 317b *Senyor, diz, tornat uos ent. Agora me quiero partir de tt, Por Dios te ruego hora por mí.* Boc. Oro, p. 68 *e preguntole: 'Dime, omne bueno, si Dios te salve, esta tierra*

omne bueno, por Dios, ave mercet. Rim. Pal. 84 *E Sennor piadoso ave merced de mí.* CLIM. SANCH. (Morel-Fatio), p. 518 *Ves aqui, este omne te do por el e ave piedat de mí.* Id. (Gayan-gos), pp. 447b *Señor Dios, habe misericordia et sálvame.* 479b *é habe misericordia de mí como yo hobe de tí.* Ibid. *¡Oh, señor hermano, por Dios habe agora misericordia de mí !* 480b *Habe paciencia fasta que yo te dé venganza.* Iosaphat, p. 350 *Pues asy es, ave fyuzia, mucho amado, e non te entristezcas.* Iosep, fo. 275 vo. *sennor dios, ave mercet a este peccador.* Corvacho, p. 252 *Señor, ave merced de mí segund la Tu grand misericordia.* J. RODRÍGUEZ, pp. 207 *No lo hagas asy, y ave ya, sy quiera cobdiçioso, nombre de amante.* 221 *ave merced dela tu donzella.* Finally LEBRIZA who, in his Grammar (1492—VÍÑAZA, c. 437), under Imperativo en el presente writes: *Ave tu. aia alguno. aiamos. aved. aian.*

Here I may cite also the instances I have noted of *aved* previous to the fourteenth century: P. Cid 3600 *Aued uuestro derecho, tuerto non querades vos.* Alex. 1449 *Aued uuestro conseio.* S. Dom. 496 *Aved unos con otros amor e caridat.* Sac. 75 *dormit, avel folgura.* 83 *Avello por iantar, esperat la merienda.* App. 193 *auet-lo atorgado.* S. Ildef., p. 321a *Madre de tu (l. su) alma habet le cuidado.* Later instances need not be quoted. In J. RUÍZ alone *aved* occurs at least six times (668. 703. 822. 830. 839. 892).

¹ Cf. EHRLSMANN, "Duzen und Ihrzen im Mittelalter," *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Wortforsch.*, Vols. I, II, IV, V; SUCHIER, *Denkmäler*, p. 535; COHN, *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache*, Vol. XXV, 2, p. 163; BERNHARDT, "Über *du* und *ir* bei Wolfram von Eschenbach, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried von Strassburg, und über *tu* und *vos* in den entsprechenden altfranzösischen Gedichten," *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 380, and the literature referred to in these articles.

en que morades (V. L. moras) ¿en qual de las partidas del mundo es . . . ?" Crón. gen. M., p. 238, 4 *et dixol* (sc. la mora): "*esforçad, sennor don Gonçaluo, et dexad de llorar et de auer pesar en uos, ca yo otrossi oue doze fijos . . . , et assi fue por uentura que todos doze me los mataron . . . , mas pero non dexe por ende de conortarme et de esforçarme; et pues yo, que so mugier, me esforçe, . . . [10] ¿quanto mas lo deues fazer tu, que eres uaron? . . .*" Florençia, pp. 440 Dios, *dixo ella, por la vuestra grant virtud que uos vengastes de Lucifer, el traydor que sse uos quiso egualar en parayso, et lo derribastes de allá ssuso con cuantos se con él touieron, que ante eran ángeles et fueron perdidos: glorioso rey espiritual, tú que te asy vengaste, non sufras que . . .* 461 *¿Cómo, hermano, dixo Macayre, tú dizes que á Belrepaire vá tan grant gente de dolientes, et que y todos guareçen? . . . ¿Deztdeslo por escarnio?* Merlin, fo. 292 ro. (Merlin to the judge) *e yo te lo prouare e dexa mi madre estar en paz e bien sepades que non ha culpa.* Primavera, Vol. I, p. 264 *Por Dios te ruego, el obispo, que no pasedes el vado.* D. Quix. I, 30 *Pues no lo penseys, vellaco descomulgado, que sin duda lo estas, pues has puesto lengua en la sin par Dulzinea. Y no sabeys vos, gañan, faquin, belitre, que . . . ?*

If it was intentionally that the poet in Crón. rim. 345 *aveme piedat* used the address in the sing., it may have been his purpose to reflect the emotion of the speaker. "*Leidenschaftliche, bewegte rede achtet der sitte nicht, und entzieht bald trauliches du, bald höfliches ir*" (J. Grimm, *Gramm.*, Vol. IV¹, p. 306).

e) A dissimilation *v-v > f-v* is nowhere else alleged. Grammont, *La dissimilation consonantique*, mentions no case. G. Paris, *Journ. des Savants*, 1898, p. 82 n., quotes two (Old.) Fr. and Prov. instances, but they are of the kind *v-v > v-()*, i. e., the dissimilation is progressive and results in the suppression of the second sound.

4. Of Spanish grammars, e. g., those of Bello⁶, § 581,¹ and of Salvá¹², p. 76, have treated *he* (*he aquí*) as the imper. sing. of *haber*. Such seems to be also the opinion of Meyer-Lübke,

¹ CUERVO, however, in his *Notas*, p. 87, denies the existence of any connection between *he* and *haber*.

Gramm., Vol. II, § 242. After having considered carefully, as I believe, some other possibilities and having hesitated for a long time between Old. French *hé, hai* (cf. Godefroy, *Dict.*, Vols. III, pp. 334 *b*, 335 *a, b*, IX, p. 751 *b*) and the etymon advocated by the Spaniards, I have finally decided for the latter. I start from a situation like the following:

A. *Dame el espada.*

B. *Hela.*

Hela = "have it, take it,¹ see it there,² there it is." The occasional meaning "see (it) there" became the usual meaning; very likely in order to differentiate *he* from *ave*. However that may be, a number of analoga, imperatives or subjunctives (cf. Diez, *Gramm.*, p. 916 = Vol. III, p. 210³) of verbs signifying "to have, to hold, to take," which have all developed the meaning of *he* = *ecce*, prove to me that the semasiological part of the etymology is well supported. I compare:

Sp. *evas* < *habeas*; *evades* < *habeatis*.

Sp. *avad* < **avades* < **habatis*.

Germ. *hei, heits*. Cf. Schmeller, *Bayer. Wörterb.* (Frommann), Vol. I, c. 1028: "hei! heits! (o. pf.; hè, hêts, b. W.) nimm! nehmet! franz. *tiens! tenez!* Vermuthlich der Imperativ von haben; s. Gramm. 954 . . ."

Further: Fr. *tiens; tenez*. Cf. *Dict. gén.*, s. v. *Tenir*, I. 1^o: "Pour avertir de prendre garde à ce qu'on dit. Tenez, le voilà qui vient. Tiens! c'est vous!"

It. *tieni*. Cf. Petrocchi, *Novo Diz. univ.*, 1891, s. v. *Tenere*: "§ imperat. . . . offrendo: Tieni la penna. Tenete il vostro onorario. Tieni un bacio. . . ." Michaelis, *Diz.*², s. v. *Tenere*: "tieni, nimm! hier! da!"—*te*'. Vockeradt, *Lehrbuch*, § 139, 4: "*te*' (gekürzt aus *tieni*) da nimm."

E. *behold*. "To behold" was used in the sense of "to have, to hold" as late as 1525: Ld. Berners *Froiss.* II. lxiv. [lxix] 222 Euery man behelde the same oppynyon (Murray, *Dict.*, s. v.).

¹ Cf. LOTTNER in KUHN's *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XI, p. 203: "Man weiss aus dem slavischen, wie nahe sich 'haben' und 'nehmen' berühren (altsl. *imā* ich nehme, *imamī* ich habe)." Also GRIMM, *Wörterb.*, Vol. IV, 2, cc. 56: "habe dank, drückt aus 'nimm dank an, empfang' . . . " 57: "nhd. hab dirs, nimms für dich hin, *habe tibi*, Maaler 203b."

² For "to take" > "to see," cf., e. g., *percibir*, (*comprender*), *catar*.

³ The subjunct. of the 2. pers. was used in Old Sp. instead of the positive imper. to a larger extent than one would conclude from Diez.

Germ. *halt*. Cf. Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterb.*, s. v. *Halten*, 4: "halt, wer kommt da?"

Finally: Lat. *em*. Cf. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, pp. 617: "*Em* seems to be the Imperative of *ěmo*, lit. 'take,' a sense which suits well in phrases like *em tibi*, 'take that!' 'there's for you!' (in giving a blow)" 600. 518.¹

Em I consider the most valuable analogon, not only with regard to form and semasiology, but also, to a large extent, with regard to syntax.

Sp. *toma*. Especially in *tómate ésa = em tibi*.

It. *to'* (from *togli*). Cf. Petrocchi, s. v.: "To' e Toh! § escl. di meraviglia. To' chi ci trovo? O to' sarebbe bella! To' to' chi viene!"

The form of *he*, if phonetic, presupposes monosyllabic **hai* < **hae*. Corresponding to the short-forms of the pres. ind., the short-form of the imper. sing. should be perhaps only *ha*. Whether such a form has existed at all, I cannot say. But while the *e* of the endings *-es*, *-et*, *-ent* was dropped in the short-forms of the pres. ind., because *-s*, *-t*, *-nt* indicated sufficiently the person and the number of the verb, it may have been considered a necessary inflection in the imper. The development of **hae* has, at any rate, its exact parallel in the development of another short-form, **vae* > **vai* > *ve*. It seems further to be substantiated by the short-form **vait* > *ve(t)* (Asturian): Fernandez-Guerra, p. 73 (1249) *ve al longo enna casa que fo (va á lo largo en la casa que fué)*; Vigil, pp. 61a (1269) *camino que ue de Oliuares*; ibid. *camino queué* (l. *que ue*) *de trobano (= Truébano)*; 86a (1286) *et delante camjno poblico que ue para sant Cloyo*; 87a (1286); 100a (1288); Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 51 *bei*, i. e., *be* + analogical(?) *i*. I may perhaps adduce also the short-form **vais* > *ves*.² Clim. Sanch. (Gayangos), p. 456b *si monje quieres ser*,

¹ Since the above was in type, I have received BRUGMANN, *Kurze vergl. Gramm. der indogerm. Sprachen*. On p. 611 I read: "*em* vermutlich aus *eme* 'nimm'." My own conclusion was reached independently of Lindsay.

² Asturian? Of the three authors quoted, Valdés is an Asturian by birth, Alfonso Martínez came from Castilla la Nueva, Clemente Sánchez from Castilla la Vieja. But both the *Libro de Enzemplos* and the *Corvacho* show certain peculiarities of the northern language. These may be due to scribes from the North (Alfonso de Contreras, the scribe of the *Corvacho*, may have come from the Contreras near Burgos), or, in the case of the *Libro de Enzemplos*, to the fact that its author, when engaged in writing it, was "arcediano de Valderas en la iglesia de Leon."

ves,¹ *echa ese tu fijo en el rio*; Corvacho, p. 165 *Françisquiv, alles a casa de mi señora la de Fulano, que me preste sus paternostres de oro*; Valdés, José, XII *¡Anda, pícara, ves á reunirte otra vez con la sacristana!* Munthe, loc. cit., *beis*, i. e., *bes* + analogical(?) *i*. The full-form *vade*, on the other hand, has developed to **vae* and *vai* (*vay*)² just as **trage* to *trae* and *trai* (*tray*) (originally dissyllabic). The full-form *vadit* has given **vae* and *vai* (*vay*) (originally dissyllabic) just as **tragit*—*trae* and *trai* (*tray*), *cadit*—*cae* and *cai* (*cay*) etc.

5. As a short-form, *he* belongs essentially to colloquial language. My opinion is confirmed by the statements of Valdés,³ *Diál. de la leng.*, p. 385, 22: "Muchos dizen *he* aqui por *veis* aqui, yo no lo digo;" of Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, s. v. *He*: "He, palabra barbara zafia, *he* aqui, *veis* aqui;" s. v. *Hele*:

Hele, adverbio demonstratiuo, *Ecce illum*. Dize el Romance viejo.

Hele, hele por do viene

. . . .

El adverbio es *he*, y assi dezimos: *Hele* aqui. *Heos* aqui, y *hele* alli. Por otro termino no menos barbaro se dize: *Heos* me aqui, donde viene fulano.

Furthermore, it seems that in works of higher style it is avoided. The fate of *he* has then been unlike that of the short-forms of the pres. ind. which, with the exception of 2. plur.,⁴ soon prevailed over the full-forms and all became literary forms. The reason may lie partly in the fact that an imper. is so much less

¹ To the ind. in the function of an imper., a special article will be devoted.

² The form *vai* (*vay*) < *vade* or *vadit* will be treated in a special article.

³ CUERVO, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 263: "Valdés, que como nadie ha tenido el instinto del buen lenguaje, distinguiendo lo permanente de lo pasajero y adivinando en cierto modo el uso moderno. . . ."

⁴ *Hedes* occurs only as an auxiliary to form the future. *Heis* is used in the same way, but also with *de* and a following infinitive (a) and finally to form the past indefinite (b):

a) DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, pp. 230 *Vuestro mal eis de aclarar*. 236 *Anda, anda, que eis de pagar*. Autos, Vol. III, p. 255, 300 *a que presçio lo eis de dar?*

b) Primavera, Vol. I, p. 143 *Traidores heis todos sido*. TORRES NAHARRO, Vol. I, p. 269 *á la par heis estudiado*. DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, pp. 33 *El mejor que nunca eis visto*. 69 *Qué gran pena nos eis dado* [!]. 94 *Eis notado la conseja*. 243 *¿no eis oído Que debajo mala capa?* Autos, Vol. I, p. 123, 209 *y pues tan bien heis senbrado, Dios os salve*. For examples from Lope and Tirso, cf. CUERVO, *Notas*, p. 88.

A remarkable form is *hais* instead of *heis* in DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. I, pp. 184 *Yo os digo que hais de sudar*. 295 *Haisme de hallar de puntas*.—142 *¿Hais mirado Qué ceño se le ha colgado?* Ibid. *¿Hais quizás encornudado?* 167 *Hais ambos buscado modo Para . . .* 196 *¿Hais notado El aviso que os he dado?* Probably on account of *han*, *ha*, *has*.

frequently used than a pres. ind. Moreover, in the case of *haber*, the pres. ind. serves as an auxiliary. But I attach equal and even greater importance to the fact that the short-form of the imper. had very early developed a different meaning from the full-form.

As a Sp. imper., *he* will be limited to positive, declarative sentences.

As a form of a transitive verb, *he* will require an object, noun or clause, in the acc.

6. Was there a plur. *hed*, corresponding to the sing. *he*? Foerster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, § 514, mentions *hed* (< *fed* < *ved*) and *afed*.¹ He adduces no instances, nor have I any. If *hed* ever existed, it was certainly short-lived and has not come down to historical times. The reason seems to be apparent. We address far oftener a single person than a plurality, and for the colloquial language of the times of which we are speaking, only the singular *tu* comes into question, not the *pluralis reverentiae vos*.² It is noteworthy that other original imperatives, similar in function to *he*, have been equally restricted to the singular. Cf., e. g., Sp. *calla*, *toma* which have as concomitant forms only *calle*, *tome*. Originally, perhaps, the latter were forms for polite address, though *calla*, *toma*, I feel sure, have been used as well in polite address as in the case of address of a plurality. Cf. further Lat. *em*; Fr. *voici*, in which, if *voi* is felt at all as a verb-form, it is felt as being in the sing., yet it is used for *tu* sing., *vos* plur. rev., and *vos* plur. Finally, Germ. *halt*; Grimm, *Wb.*, Vol. IV, 2, c. 280:

Dieser bedeutung (sc. stille stehen) fällt zu der imperativ halt! der nicht immer als verbalform mehr gefühlt wird und einen plural haltet! . . . seltener und in mehr gemäßigter rede entwickelt; häufig ist er vielmehr zur interjection abgeblaszt und formell so erstarrt, dasz er auch mehreren personen zugerufen wird. . . .

¹ SANCHEZ, *Col.*, Vol. I, p. 376, reads: "[Afe] admitia muchos afixos que hacian veces de acusativos, como *afedos*, veis aqui à dos." I suppose this to be the source of Foerster's *afedos*. The same carelessness is betrayed in other places of the same paragraph, especially where *ecvos* in *ecvos l'emperador* is made an Old Sp. form. It is, of course, Provençal (Boeci 44).

² Cf. EHRESMANN, *Zeitschr. f. d. Wortf.*, Vol. I, p. 126: "Im gewöhnlichen Leben bei den spätromischen und romanischen Nationen ist die einfache Wechselrede zwischen Ich und Du gewiss weithin üblich geblieben."

Still, in such instances as Alex. 1090 *Otro dia mannana heuollos apellidos Que era Alexandre e los griegos uenidos*, or Sancho IV, p. 149a *é el ángel les dijo: "Non hayades miedo; Jesucristo Nazareno que vos demandades, que fué crucificado, resucitó é non es aquí, é hé aquí el logar* (Marc. 16, 6 *ecce locus*) *do le posieron*," it might be claimed this time that *he* is *hed* with loss of the final cons. as in the monosyllabic *fe*, *pie*, etc. But *fe*, *pie* are nouns and besides not primary forms;¹ in the monosyllabic imperatives the *-d* was probably kept on account of the other imperatives in *-d*, cf. *id.*²

He serving then, since about the time we know it, as well in addressing a single person as a plurality, must be considered a particle. Its function is that of an adverb.

7. The usage of *he*, once established, was continued also after *he* was no longer felt as a verb-form. In the same way the prevailing use of *ecce* with an acc. has been continued by its Romance derivatives, cf. Lat. *ecce* (Köhler, *Arch. f. lat. Lex.*, Vol. V, pp. 16 ff.), It. *ecco* (Vockeradt, *Lehrb.*, § 175, 1), Old Fr. *ez* (generally with acc.—Godefroy, *Dict.*, s. v. *Es*), Port. *eis* (Diez, *Gramm.*, p. 900 = Vol. III, p. 189).

By analogy of the demonstrative adverb, the interrogative adverb *do* is accompanied by the acc. of a pronoun or noun. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, Vol. II, p. 1322b, quotes M. de Chaide, *Magd. serm. de Oríg.* (R[ivad]. 27. 412²) *Halladles, Maria; mirad que se correrán; y vuestra cortesanta ¿dóla?* There is another instance in Menéndez Pidal, *Notas acerca del Bable de Lena*, § 37, with the following statement:

Nótese la elipsis del verbo estar, con el adverbio *u* = unde, en las interrogaciones *ulú ? ulá ?* como *ul sombriru ?* dónde está el sombrero ? El gallego y el portugués conocen este giro, y acaso el castellano antiguo

¹ *Fet* subsists in the phrases *á bona fet sen (mal) enganno* VIGIL, pp. 45a, 77a (1279), 81b (1282), 83a (1282), 109b (1297), 126b (1306), 150b (1314) and *fazer fed* VIGIL, pp. 156a (1315), 185a (1332), 188a (1334).

² The earliest instance of *i* I find in J. RUIZ 1582 (MS T, written c. 1389) *¡al ynfierno y vos; catyuos; esquiuous: biuos* where MS G reads *yd vos*. Later examples are: Primavera, Vol. II, p. 224 *vos ios de aquesta tierra y en ella no parezcais mas*. HOROZCO, p. 156 *Hermanos, con Dios os t: aquí: así: mi*. Ardamisa 374 *Yos vuestro camino*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 520, 558 *Dejame un poquito, yos: Judios: mios*. Vol. IV, p. 61, 434 *No nos hagais mas el buz, ydos presto, yos de aqui!* (For the sake of completeness, I may add from the same MS Vol. I, p. 193, 332 *Hora ydvos caminando por las pisadas desotro, e ydme . . .*) CUERVO, *Notas*, p. 109, has instances from Fray Luis de Granada and Lope.

lo conocía también; un precioso romance popular que comienza “yo me levantara, madre, mañanica de San Juan” contiene un cantarcillo que dice:

¿ Do los mis amores, do los ?

¿ Do los andaré á buscar ?

(Durán, *Romancero* II pág. 497)

y bien pudiera ser que el primer verso fuera independiente del segundo (como opina Durán al ponerle una interrogación final) y hubiera que interpretarlo *dó están los mis amores?* lo cual encierra más vigor y poesía que si entendemos *do los mis amores andaré á buscar*.

I may add: J. Ruiz 1568 (¿) *mi leal vieja*, [¿] *dola?* Barahona de Soto (*Flores*, Vol. II, p. 74) ¿ *Dó está vuestra presencia, dola? dola?* J. Ruiz 1331 *enbie por mi vieja; ella dixo: “ado lo?”* Corvacho, p. 116 ¿ *A do le (V.L. lo) este hueuo?* Encina, p. 351 Suplicio. . . . *Qu'está solo Mi compañero.* Gil. ¿ *Y adólo?* Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, p. 44 ¿ *Adó los?* ¿ *Dónde van?* ¿ *Mueran los traidores!*

Should the verbal origin of *he* not be accepted, how then shall we explain the accompanying acc.? A reference to the *accusativus exclamacionis* will hardly do, for a *nom. exclam.* is more in order for Spanish than an *acc.* But it will be time enough to discuss this question, when, as I hope, it shall be taken up by others. I may, however, call attention beforehand to one fact, viz., that the demonstrative adverb *aquí* is at times accompanied by the *nom.* of a pronoun or noun (denoting a person), e. g., Núñez de Arce, *El Haz de Leña*, IV, 10 Carlos. (*Observándolos*, sc. Felipe and Catalina) (*¡El Rey con ella! . . . ¿Qué es esto?*) ¿ *Aquí vos?* . . . IV, 9 Catalina. *Aquí el Rey . . . ¡si me atreviera á suplicarle! . . .*

8. *He* is used:

a) With the acc. of a personal pronoun of the 1. (a) or 3. pers. (ß),¹ sing. or plur.

a) I. Reg. 3, 4 (MS Esc. I. j. 8—fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 387) *Et clamo Dios a Samuel, el recudio: Hem*

¹ Why not also of the 2. pers.? I have not a single sure instance of such a construction. In RODRIGO COTA (*Antología*, Vol. IV, p. 19) (Amor speaking to El Viejo) *Hete aquí bien abraçado; Dime, ¿que sientes agora?* I consider *he*=*habeo*. There are other cases of *he*, followed by the acc. of a personal pronoun and the past part. of a transitive verb where it is equally difficult to decide whether *he*=*ecce* or =*habeo*. Cf., e. g., GARCILASO, p. 106 *Héme entregado, héme aquí rendido, (Hé aquí vences . . .)*.

aquí (Vulg. *Ecce ego*), *et fue apresso a Ely et dixol: Hem aquí* (Vulg. *Ecce ego*), *car me clamest*. (The meaning of *he* is frequently strengthened or modified by such adverbs as *aquí*, *acá*, etc.) Gil Vicente, p. 89 *Héme aquí en otra muerte*. (*He* points forward to a more definite locative phrase.) Torres Naharro, Vol. I, p. 272 *Con mi hato y garabato Hem' acá* (:). Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, pp. 95 *Jesús, héme aquí; ¿que manda?* (*He* is also employed in polite speech.) 177 *Si, señora, héme aquí, ¿qué manda?*—Reyes Magos 127 *Rei, qque te plaze? he nos uenidos*. Gil Vicente, p. 47 *He nos aquí levantados*.

β) J. Ruiz 1502 *diz mi coraçon: ¡hela* (V. L. *ela*)! *fuyme para la dueña*. . . . Celestina, p. 111 *Hela aquí* (sc. vna tajada de diacitron), *señor*. Primavera, Vol. I, p. 175 *Hélo, hélo, por dó* (l. *do*) *viene¹ el moro por la calzada*. (Note the repetition of the phrase for the sake of emphasis.) Torres Naharro, Vol. II, pp. 161 *Helo alla* (sc. the Escolar) *por vida mia*. 196 *Hela abaxo* (sc. la prima?) *y hela encima, Hela acá y hela acullá*. 197 *Hela aquí sale cubierta La señora*.² Lope de Rueda, Vol. I, p. 139 Sigüença. *¿qués de la espada?* Sebastiana. *Héla*. Vol. II, p. 200 *Héla héla* (sc. Lelia), *señor*.—Celestina, p. 141 *Helas aquí* (sc. las coraças), *señor*. Primavera, Vol. I, p. 62 *Hélos, hélos* (sc. los siete infantes de Lara) *por do vienen, con toda la su compaña*. Diego Sanchez, Vol. I, p. 337 *Hélos* (sc. the alguacil and the escribano) *vienen mano á mano*. Lazarillo, p. 51 *De que esto me oyeron, van por vn alguazil y vn escriuano; y helos do bueluen luego con ellos*. Lope de Rueda, Vol. I, p. 85 *Hélas ahí* (sc. las manos).

b) If used with a noun, we may suppose the latter to be the acc. All the more so because a noun denoting a person often takes the preposition *á*. Sancho IV, pp. 149a *é hé aquí el lugar* (Marc. 16, 6 *ecce locus*) *do le posieron*. 172a *Tullio dice: "Hé aquí el dolor"*. Hohelied, p. 2 *He el mio amigo que me fabla* (Vulg. *En, dilectus meus loquitur mihi*). J. Manuel, p. 299a *Hé*

¹ A predicative verb, expressing state (*ser, estar*) or motion (*venir, llegar, salir, volver*), and referring to the object of *he*, appears, in the earlier period, ordinarily as the finite verb of a relative sentence introduced by *do, por do*, etc. Cf. for O. Fr. examples, TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. III, p. 67.

² Parataxis. Cf. the preceding note.

aquí la sierva de nuestro Señor Dios (Luc. 1, 38 *Ecce, ancilla Domini*). Coronica Esp. I, fo. 117 ro.b *esta es la mi yantar, e he aquí vuestra parte, e parad bien mientes si vos engañe: he aquí vna mano del niño, e he vn pie e la meytad de todo el otro cuerpo*. Anon. Sahagun, p. 317a *Ya estas cosas pasadas, he aquí otra vez retornados los daños, é peligros*. Lucas Fernandez, p. 179 *He aquí yesca y pedrenal*. Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, p. 213 *hé allí á Fabricio*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 265, 406 *He aquí el sueño y la soltura*. Vol. III, p. 397, 103 *He aquí el rrefran cunplido*. Gil Blas, Vol. I, p. 169 *Y hé aquí á todos mis pobres actores atónitos* (Lesage III, 12 *Voilà mes acteurs déconcertés!*).

c) In connection with *he*, a personal pronoun of the 2. pers. appears only as an ethical dative, sing. and plur. The phrase, as a rule, is accompanied by the acc. of a personal pronoun or noun. Encina, p. 69 *Y hételo aquí cada dia*.—Alex. 1090 *Otro dia manana heuollos apellidos Que era Alexandre e los griegos uenidos*. Est. God., p. 133 *todas las demas fortalezas dió á tener á los Aragoneses, e hé-uos-los sennores de toda Espanna*. The place of the noun may be taken by a relative clause: J. Mena, p. 168 *hevos do venian nueve Donas*. Or, with parataxis: Encina, p. 91 *Héte viene un escudero*.

d) *He (aquí)* may be followed by a clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun and stands to *he* in the relation of a direct object. D. Quix. I, 20 *He ay lo que yo dixé, que tuuiesse buena cuenta*. Echegaray, *Ó Locura ó Santidad*, I, 9 *donde estaba oculto* (sc. el pliego), *he ahí lo que ignoraba*. (The construction is comparatively modern.)

Or the clause may be introduced by a relative or interrogative adverb. Salamantina 2509 *He allí, juro a sant Juan, donde viene el alguazil*. Gil Blas, Vol. II, p. 14 *Hé aquí como los hombres mas rígidos templan su severidad cuando média el interes propio* (Lesage VII, 3 *C'est ainsi que les hommes les plus sévères rabattent de leur sévérité quand . . .*). (The first construction is old. It is restricted to those cases where the verb of the relative clause is an intransitive verb of state or motion. It is found also after verbs of seeing, but hardly later than the sixteenth century. The second construction is of modern date.)

Lastly, the clause may be introduced by *que* (relative adverb or conjunction?). Hohelied, p. 2 (II, 8) *Voz del mio amigo. he que este viene saliendo los oteros. traspassando los collados* (Vulg. ecce iste venit saliens in montibus). Ibid. (II, 9) *he que el esta tras nuestra paret. catando por las finiestras . . .* (Vulg. En, ipse stat post parietem nostrum . . .). Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 6—first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *He que concibra una virgen e parra fio* (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). D. Quix. I, 31 *Y bien, prosiguió don Quixote, he aquí que acabó de limpiar su trigo y de embiallo al molino.* Gil Blas, Vol. I, p. 5 *No bien habia comido el primer bocado, hé aquí que entra el mesonero* (Lesage I, 2 *Je n'avais pas encore mangé le premier morceau, que l'hôte entra*).

e) *He* (*aquí*) is rarely followed by a finite verb. Garcilaso, p. 10b *Hé aquí vences; toma los despojos De un cuerpo miserable y afligido.* Nov. ej., p. 225 *Hé aquí tenemos ya . . . á Aven-
daño hecho mozo de meson.* (A comparatively modern construction.)

B. *E*.

1. Diez, *Et. Wb.*, p. 125 s. v. *Ecco*, asserts:

[Von *eccum*] sicher auch sp. *ele, elo, ela* (für *ec-le, ec-lo, ec-la*), *étele* (=it. *eccotelo*), nicht etwa für *hele* oder *fele* aus *vele* . . . , da der abfall des anlautenden *h* für *f=v* minder leicht vor sich geht, niemals z. b. *emencia* für *hemencia, femencia* = *vehementia* gesagt wird.

But Lat. *eccu+ille* has given *aquel*, and Sp. *ec-le*, if it ever existed,¹ would not have developed to *ele*. The difference between *e* and *he* is merely graphic.

My earliest instances belong probably to the thirteenth century; the latest are from D. Quix. II (1615).

2. The same classification will be followed as for *he*.

a) a) Autos, Vol. II, p. 287, 253 *Eme aquí, santa vision.* Vol. III, p. 158, 288 *Eme aquí.*—Vol. I, p. 100, 80 Eliazer.

¹Curious is the Judeo-Spanish form *hec*. Gen. 37, 25 (Pentateuchübersetzung, Constantinopel, 1547—GRÜNBAUM, p. 11) *y alzaron sus ojos y vieron y hec* (הִיךְ) *caravana de moros.* 29 *Y torno ראובן a el pozo y hec non יוסף en el pozo y rompio sus paños.* Grünbaum, in a note, remarks: "*Hec* (הִיךְ) ist in den mit hebräischen Buchstaben gedruckten Büchern die gewöhnliche Form für 'he,' das die ferrarensische Bibel hat. . . ." An edition of 1873 (GRÜNBAUM, pp. 12-14) reads in the same passages *ek*. In this connection, one is naturally reminded of Prov. *héc, ec*. I have no desire to discuss this equally complicated question.

Ola! moços. Donde estais? Moço. Enos aqui un monton de ellos, por es[o] ved que mandais.

β) Autos, Vol. I, pp. 33, 326 *Ele alli, mi corderito.* 81, 432 *ela aqui* (sc. Delbora) *con brevedad.* Vol. II, p. 508 *Ela aqui* (sc. Avigail) *do viene.*—Vol. II, p. 440, 73 *Señora, elas aqui* (sc. las sillas).

b) S. Oria 128 *E aqui la reyna, de esto* (l. desto) *sei segura.* Autos, Vol. I, p. 212, 366 *E aqui los niños do estan.* Vol. II, p. 325 *E aqui otro.* (Cases in which the object of *e* is a pronoun other than a personal pronoun, are classified here.) Vol. III, p. 207, 214 *Padre, e aqui la vianda que en estotra alforja esta; sacalda* D. Quix. II, 25 *ê aqui mis dos reales.* II, 73 *E aqui, señor, rompidos y desbaratados estos agueros.*

c) Alex. 961 *Euos un cauallero, Areta fue llamado.* Est. God., p. 47 *Eues* (l. with V. L. *Euos*) *Flauio Egica, .iij. annos ante que muriese, puso á su fijo U[i]tiza en el regno (!) Gallazia.*

d) Autos, Vol. I, p. 422, 412 *A, señora Galaditta! e alli do viene su padre.*

C. AHE.

1. The form *ahe* stands to *he* in the same relation as, e. g., *aht* to *i* (*hi, y, hy*) < *hic*.

If the *afe* of the *P. Cid* is only a dialectal form of *ahe*, and if, further, the *afe* belongs to the author of the *P. Cid*, then *ahe* dates at least from the last quarter of the twelfth century. My earliest examples occur in the *Est. God.*, written after 1243, the MS belonging to the last third of the thirteenth century. The latest examples I have noted appear in the *Corvacho*, written in 1438, the MS dating from 1466. In 1534, Valdés, *Diál. de la lengua*, p. 382, 33, writes: "Ahe, que quiere dezir ecce, ya no se usa, no sé porque lo avemos dexado, especialmente no teniendo otro que sinifique lo que el."

2. The same classification will be followed as for *he*.

a) Coronica Esp. IV, fo. 280 vo. a *ahelo* (sc. el casamiento) *en las manos de Dios, e faga y la su merced.*¹ (The only instance I have found of *ahe* + pronoun! It is, moreover, rather late.)

b) Est. God., p. 51 *Ahé Espanna tornado* (l. with

¹ Corresponds to *P. Cid* 1942.

V. L. *tornada*) en discordia. Plácidas, p. 125 e cada vno atendiendo su caça, ahe aquí vn cieruo grande á marauilla. Florençia, pp. 410 En todo esto ahé aquí Miles en medio de la priesa, et fué ferir vn buen cauallero. 424 Et atanto ahé aquí Agrauayn et Clamador, et . . . Ibid. Atanto ahé aquí Sinagot que encontró Esmere. 445 et ella llorando asy, ahe aquí á Macayre. 447 A tanto ahé aquí Macayre. Seuilla, pp. 345 é do la reyna dormia asy sin guarda, ahé aquel enano que entró. 364 A tanto ahé el rey do viene. Ps. 51, 9 (MS Esc. I. j. 8—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 389) Ahe el varon que non puso a Dios por su fortaleza (Vulg. Ecce homo, qui . . .). Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 3—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 514) Ahe la virgen prennada e parira fijo (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). Is. 40, 9 (MS R. Ac. Hist.—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 535 n.) Ahe el vuestro Dios! (Vulg. Ecce Deus vester). Iosaphat, p. 362 Ahe çinco razones por las quales traemos las rreliquias de los santos.

c) Est. God., pp. 39 Hahéuos (!) con toda essa companna don Paulo con su bando cuydó uenir bien seguro en Espanna. 42 Ahéuos don Paulo en cuyta en [a]quela su fortaleza de Arenas. Crón. rim. 172 Ahevos aquí su previllejo como lo trayo otorgado. Gatos, p. 552a Et él estando y ahe-vos las bestias que se juntaron á cabildo so aquel árbol.—Florençia, p. 434 Entre tanto aheuos aquí do viene Agrauayn corriendo por el campo. J. Ruiz 1089 Non avia acabado desir byen su verbo, ahe vos ado viene muy lygero el çieruo.

d) Florençia, pp. 403 En todo esto ahé aquí do vienen los infantes d'Ongría. 409 Atanto ahé aquí do vien Eleame. 412 Et asy estando, ahe aquí ô viene el enperador Ottas. 419 Vn dia aveno que seyendo Garsyr á la mesa, ahé aquí dó (l. do) viene Sinagot su conestable.

Est. God., p. 10 Ahé que don Hérculos con los Griegos ast ganó Espanna. Cronica Esp. I, fo. 104 vo.a e dixoles a he (!) que yo el vuestro Dios ya me muero. Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 4—fourteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 406) Ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). Anon. Sahagun, p. 330 é como ya rezase el Evangelio, ahe, que

súpitamente comenzamos á oír grandes estruendos. Is. 40, 10 (MS R. Ac. Hist.—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 535 n.) *Ahe que Adonay Elohim fuerte verna e con el ssu braço ssennoreara por ssy.* *Ahe que (!) el su merescimiento con el e la ssu obra delante del* (Vulg. ecce Dominus Deus in fortitudine veniet, et brachium ejus dominabitur: ecce merces ejus cum eo, et opus illius coram illo). Biblia Alba, pp. 25 *ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fiço* (Is. 7, 14 Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). 39 *dixo el señor: ahe que vos yo di toda herua* (Gen. 1, 29 Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam). 43 *ahe que tu fermosa eres, la mi querida, ahe que tu fermosa tu eres e los tus ojos palomos: ahe que tu eres hermoso, el mi querido* (Cant. 1, 14 Ecce, tu pulchra es, amica mea, ecce tu pulchra es,¹ oculi tui columbarum. 15 Ecce, tu pulcher es, dilecte mi). 44 *ahe que la su cama de salamon sesenta barraganes la circundan de los fortissimos de israel* (Cant. 3, 7 En, lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel). 49 *ahe que entenderá el mi siervo* (Is. 52, 13 Ecce, intelliget servus meus). Corvacho, pp. 241 *Señor, ¡ahe que medidos posyste los mis días* (Ps. 38, 6 Ecce mensurabiles posuisti dies meos)! 306 *ahe* (V. L. *aha*), *doña loca engrosada, que non es tiempo de burlar.*

e) *Ahe* is frequently found in sentences with a finite verb, but, to judge from the material on hand, only in translations from the Latin.² Est. God., pp. 11 *Ahé toda la tierra de Lonbardía destruyda et los omnes subiugados á su seruicio, don Hércules uino en Grecia, et destruyó Troya.* 63 *Ahé Toledo non fué destruida.* Quatro Dotores, pp. 358, 7 *ahe puse las mis palabras en la tu boca* (Foerster, p. 20, 7 Ecce posui . . .). 361, 24 *ahe has los sueldos que demandaste* (F., p. 38, 18 Ecce habes . . .). 362, 21 *ca ahe, las gallinas que cria, comellas el*

¹ Cf. Cant. 4, 1 *Quam* pulchra es, amica mea, *quam* pulchra es! Hohelied, p. 3 *Que* fermosa eres amiga mia *que* fermosa eres. Biblia Alba, p. 44 *ahe que tu fermosa eres, la mi amiga; ahe que tu fermosa eres.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 33) *¡Ay que hermosa tu eres, amiga mia, ay que hermosa!*

² In the examples from the *Est. God.* I can only suppose Lat. *ecce* as the original of *ahe*. The Lat. text published by SCHOTT, *Hispania illustr.*, offered no help. The *Quatro Dotores* and the *Iosaphat* are translations from Vincentius Bellovacensis. An ed. of the latter not being accessible to me, I have used, for the examples taken from the Dialogues of Gregory (only this part of the *Quatro Dotores* was examined by me) the text published by FOERSTER, *Li Dialogue Gregoire lo Pape*, and for *Iosaphat*, the text published by MIGNÉ, Vol. LXXIII.

rraposo (F., p. 40, 20 *Ecce enim gallinas quas nutrit uulpes comedit*). 371, 28 *ahe vo a los frayres a dar les axarope* (F., p. 96, 5 *Ecce ad fratres uado . . .*). 373, 27 *ahe rroquete, e non me quisiste oyr* (F., p. 101, 16 *Ecce te rogaui . . .*). 377, 29 *ahe rremedas las bestias, commo eres digno* (F., p. 118, 6 *ecce, ut dignus es, bestias imitaris*). 381, 17 *ahe tomadlas e vestildas* (F., p. 135, 6 *ecce tollite . . .*). 383, 29 *ahe, matestelas, señor* (F., p. 140, 16 *Ecce illos occidisti, Domine*). 397, 28 *ahe vengo, ahe vengo* (F., p. 208, 14 *Ecce uenio, ecce uenio*). 409, 25 *yd uos, yd uos; ahe dado so a tragar al dragon* (F., p. 251, 7 *Recedite, recedite, quia draconi ad deuorandum datus sum*). 410, 4; 6; 23. 421, 25 *e ahe, commo estudiase en medio el mar, paresçïome vno, el qual . . .* (F., p. 278, 12 *et ecce in eodem medio mari me posito quidam apparuit, qui . . .*). Iosaphat, pp. 338. 343 *Ahe rreprehendiendo la tu non sabiduria use desta manera* (Migne, Vol. LXXIII, p. 463 *En igitur ut tuam dementia coarguerem, hac ratione usus sum*). 345 *Ahe en pocas cosas te manifeste el mi señor* (M., p. 469 *Et tibi Dominum meum . . . paucis verbis declaravi*). Ibid. *Ca ahe luego que tome estas palabras, lunbre muy dulce entro al mi coraçon* (M., p. 469 *Ecce enim ut hæc verba auribus excepi, suavissima lux pectus meum subiit*). 375. 381. 387. 389.

The more marked the pause between *ahe* and the finite verb, and the farther the latter gets from the former by inserted parts of the sentence, especially by an inserted dependent clause, the nearer comes *ahe* to being an interjection. This is decidedly the case when *ahe* is accompanied by an interrogative or exclamatory sentence. Quatro Dotores, p. 364, 6 *o ahe, que fizo el varo[n] santo Furtunato obispo* (F., p. 43, 11 *O uirum sanctum Fortunatum episcopum! ecce quid fecit!*)! Iosaphat, pp. 355 *Ca ahe quanto tienpo ha el çielo e non es denegrado* (M., p. 509 *Ecce enim quantum jam temporis fluxit, ex quo cælum est, nec tamen obscuritatem contraxit*). 381 *Ahe loco commo non aduzes al seso de la verdat* (M., p. 572 *Quin¹ te vis veritatis sensu afficit?*).

¹ I should not omit mentioning that the translator (or translators?) of Vinc. Belloy. have also in at least two cases rendered Lat. *heu* by *ahe*. Quatro Dotores, p. 360, 16 *ahe, ahe, muerto es este mesquino* (F., p. 37, 2 *Heu, heu, mortuus est miser iste*). Iosaphat, p. 350 *ahe a mi, que primeramente llantear, o que mas llorare* (M., p. 495 *Heu me miserum, quidnam prius deflebo ac lamentabor?*)?

D. *HAE*.

1. *Hae*—by the side of which very likely *ae* will also be found—is a graphical variant of *hahe* (cf. Est. God., p. 39—*Ahe* § 2, c) or *ahe*.

2. The few instances at my disposal show the particle followed by an ethical dative and a noun. Est. God., p. 48 *Haēuos el regno de los Godos tornado á mal*. Crón. rim., p. 2 *haevos aqui los poderes del rey don Sancho*. Gatos, p. 551a *haevos las bestias que se ayuntaron todas á cabildo so el árbol*.

E. *FE*.

1. I have claimed that the *fe*-forms of the *P. Cid* belong to a dialect different from that to which the *he*-forms belong. That dialect has been said to be the Asturian. Besides the eight cases of *fe* in the *P. Cid*, I count ten in other texts. At least four of these are found in MSS with northern peculiarities, viz., the MS S of J. Ruiz (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Rom.*, Vol. XXX, p. 435) and the *Corvacho*.

That, among Spanish dialects, the Asturian dialect alone has preserved Lat. initial *f* is well known. A predilection for that sound seems thereby to be proved. Quadrado (in Canella Secades, *Estudios asturianos*, p. 250) says:

La *f* sustituye (sc. el bable) á la *h* aspirada; v. g.: falar por hablar, fer por hacer, y aun encabeza palabras que en castellano carecen de *h*; v. g.: fola por ola.

Fola is unfortunately of obscure origin. But perhaps *finchir* could be cited in this connection. In this word the *i* instead of *e*, on account of a following *n*, might also point to northern origin. Further *finojo*, Vigil, *Glos.*, and *farrear*, *Corvacho*, *Glos.* Whether the latter is = *arrear* < **arredare* or = *arrear* < *arre*, I cannot say. In either case the quotation serves the purpose. But *farrear* = *arrear* < *arre* would at the same time support *farre* = *arre*, J. Ruiz MS S 517. Baist, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, p. 347, observes:

Farre steht nur einmal in einer Hs. des Juan Ruiz, die beiden andern bieten *h*; *harre* erscheint als eine willkürliche Verstärkung des Zurufs, die arabisch,—*harr* bei Freytag—ebenso belegt ist wie im Spanischen.

Nevertheless I would advocate *farre* not only because it stands in a MS which contains a "multitud de leonesismos" (Menéndez Pidal) and is therefore in keeping with the general linguistic character of the MS, but also for the reason that there seems to be a natural tendency to aspirate interjections (especially when they are monosyllabic). Cf., e. g., Nyrop, *Gramm. hist.*, Vol. I, § 484:

Le *h* aspiré se trouve enfin dans plusieurs interjections de caractère onomatopéique: Ha, haie, hallali, hare, hein, hem, holà, hou, houp, huan, hue. Rappelons aussi les verbes: haleter (pour aleter, proprement "battre de l'aile," ala), hennir (hinnire). . . .

Thus then I would also explain *fa* in *fadeduro*, J. Ruiz MS¹ S 389 (MS G *hadeduro*); *fade maja*, J. Ruiz MS S 959 (MS G *hadeduro*) in contrast with *ha* (cf. Sanchez, Vol. IV, p. 307), and *fe* in contrast with *he*.

2. Cf. for the classification of the following examples, *he*.

a) a) P. Cid 269 *Fem ante uos yo² e uuestras fijas*. J. Ruiz 1458 *fe me aqui presto; non temas, ten esfuerço*. Corvacho, p. 302 *Pues, Pobreza, dí a quién me dardás por fianças e luego fême* (V. L. *veeme*) *presta para te fazer conosco que*. . . . Pero Gonçalves de Useda (*Canc. Baena*, p. 403) *Ffeme fecho conde, vo me para Francia*.

β) Boc. Oro, p. 302 *Ayer apremiava este a los otros omnes, e felo* (V. L. *afelo*) *ado esta oy apremiado*. Ibid. *Este es el que andudo toda la tierra del un cabo del mundo al otro, e felo puesto entre dos braças*.—P. Cid 485 *Fellos en Casteion, o el Campeador estaua*. 1452 *Felos en Medina las duenas e Albarfanez*. 2647 *Felos en Molina con el moro Avengaluon*. 3534 *Felos al plazo los del Campeador*. 3701 *Felos en Valençia con myo Çid el Campeador*.

¹ In copla 967 the same MS reads *hadre duro* (MS G *hadeduro*).

² Cf. P. Cid 1597 *Afe me aqui, señor, yo uuestras fijas e amas*. *Yo* is appositive to *me*, a case of nom. instead of acc., not mentioned by MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. III, § 62. He gives, however, § 58, an Italian example of *io* appositive to *ci*. As after *mas-que* (MEYER-LÜBKE, op. cit., § 62 and GESSNER, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XVII, p. 10), the nom. is also found after *fuera*: Duolo 21 *Ca fuera io, de todas ella maes lo querie*. S. Catalina, p. 279 *Aqui non ha otro fueras yo e vos*. (Cf. TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. I², p. 273.) After *fuera de*: Autos, Vol. IV, p. 83, 520 *Fuera de yo no ay ninguno que*. . . . After *sino*: DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, p. 183 *No hay otro Dios sino yo*. (Cf. for the nom. after 'but' etc., JESPERSEN, *Progress in Language*, p. 193.) Finally, in *desdichado de yo*, Autos, Vol. I, p. 174, 142; D. Quix. I, 26, we have contamination of *desdichado yo* and *desdichado de mí*.

b) Maria Eg., p. 315a *Que fe aqui huna doliosa Que por ell yermo va rencurosa*. Lucanor, p. 125, 3 *Ea, don sobrino, fe aqui* (V. L. *he; vedes donna; he aqui do viene*) a donna Vascunnana que nos partira nuestra contienda. J. Ruiz 1331 *fe aque* (l. *aqui*) *buen amor qual buen amiga buscolo*.

c) P. Cid 1335 *Feuos aqui las señas, verdad uos digo yo*. 3591 *Feuos dela otra part los yfantes de Carrion*. Maria Eg., p. 310a *Feuos aqui mio tesoro*.—Corvacho, p. 285 *E la Pobreza asy estando, feuos* (V. L. *he vos*) *aquí donde viene por el camino adelante la Fortuna*.

F. AFE.

1. *Afe* proceeds from *fe*, as *ahe* from *he*.

2. Cf. for the classification of the following examples, *he*.

a) a) P. Cid 1597 *Afe me aqui, señor, yo uuestras fijas e amas*.

β) P. Cid 505 *Todo lo otro afelo en uuestra mano*. Reyes de Or., p. 320b *Afelo alli don jaz gafo*.—P. Cid 2088 *Afellas en uuestra mano don Eluira e doña Sol*. 2101 *Afellos en uuestras manos los yfantes de Carrion*. 2175 *Afelos en Valençia, la que mio. Çid gaño*. 2947 *Afelas sus fijas en Valençia do son*. (If one reads *Afe las sus fijas*, the instance belongs to the following division.)

b) P. Cid 1317 *Afe Minaya Albarfanez do lega tan apuesto*. 2135 *Respondio el Rey: "Afe aqui Albarfanez. . . ."* 2222 *Affe amas mis fijas, metolas en uuestra mano*. (The punctuation of the editor is correct, if *amas mis fijas* is the object of *affe*. It is wrong, if *amas mis fijas* is the object of *meto*. Such a possibility is not excluded. Cf. S. Dom. 38 *Evangelios, epistolas aprisólas* (l. *aprisolas*) *privado*; 377 *Ladrones de la tierra movieles el pecado*; Gessner, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 20 ff. In such a case there is hardly any difference between *afe* = *ecce* and *a fe* = *profecto*. And in that way *a fe* = *profecto* might have become *afe* = *ecce*. It would then still remain for Ascoli to explain the early *h*-forms.—A similar difficulty arises in one or another of the following instances.) 2381 *Afe los moros a oio, yd los en sayar*. 3393 *Affe dos caualleros en traron por la cort*. 3407 *Afe mis fijas, en uuestras manos son*.

c) P. Cid 152 *Afeuos los ala tienda del Campeador contado*. 262 *Afeuos doña Ximena con sus fixas do ua legando*. 476 *Afeuos los CC. iij. enel algara*. 1255 *Afeuos todo aquesto puesto en buen Recabdo*. 1431 *Afeuos Rachel e Vidas alos pies le caen*. 1499 *Afeuos aqui Pero Vermuez e Mūno Gustioz que uos quieren sin hart*. 1568 *Afeuos todos a questos Reçiben a Minaya*. 2230 *Alos yfantes de Carrion Minaya va fablando: "Afeuos delant Minaya, amos sodes hermanos."* 2368 *Afeuos el obispo don Iheronimo muy bien armado*. Maria Eg., p. 312a *Afeuos Marta en el camino E encontró vn pelegrino*.

d) P. Cid 1942 *Afe Dios del çielo que nos acuerde en lo miior*. 2140 *Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz."* 2155 *Afe Dios del çielo, que lo ponga en buen logar!* 2855 *Affe Dios delos çielos que uos de dent buen galardón!*

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN QUOTING SPANISH TEXTS.

- Alex. = [Berceo] *El Libro de Alexandre*. In Janer, *Poetas castellanos anteriores al Siglo XV*, 1884, pp. 147 ff.
 Anon. Sahagun = *Historia del Monasterio de Sahagun*. In Escalona, *Historia del R. Monasterio de Sahagun*, 1782, pp. 297 ff.
 Antología = Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas líricos castellanos*, 1890-.
 App. = *Libre de Appollonio*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 283 ff.
 Ardamisa = Diego de Negueruela, *Farsa llamada Ardamisa*; réimpression p. p. L. Rouanet, 1901.
 Autos = Rouanet, *Coleccion de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del Siglo XVI*, 1901.
 Biblia Alba = Paz y Melia, *La Biblia puesta en romance por Rabi Mosé Arragel de Guadalfajara (1422-32)*. In *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, Vol. II, 1899, pp. 5 ff.
 Boc. Oro = *Este Libro es llamado Bocados de Oro*. . . . In Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, 1879, pp. 66 ff.
 Canc. Baena = *El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, 1851.
 Celestina = *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*; réimpression p. p. R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1900.
 Clim. Sanch. (Gayangos) = *El Libro de los Enxemplos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores en Prosa anteriores al Siglo XV*, 1884, pp. 447 ff.
 Clim. Sanch. (Morel-Fatio) = Climente Sanchez, *El Libro de Enxemplos* por A. B. C. In *Rom.*, Vol. VII, pp. 481 ff.
 Coron. Esp. = *Las quatro Partes enteras de la Coronica de España*. . . . ; vista y emendada mucha parte de su impression por el Maestro Florian Docampo , 1604.
 Corvacho = Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera (Corvacho ó Reprobación del Amor mundano)*, 1901.
 Crón. D. Pedro = Pedro Lopez de Ayala, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla Don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan I, Don Enrique III*; t. I. que comprende la crónica del rey D. Pedro, 1779.
 Crón. gen. M. = *De la Crónica general que mandó componer el Rey Don Alfonso X*. In Menéndez Pidal, *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, 1896, pp. 207 ff.
 Crón. rim. = *Crónica rimada de las Cosas de España*. . . . y mas particularmente de las *Aventuras del Cid*; p. p. D. F. Michel. In [Wiener] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1846, Anzeig-Blatt, pp. 1 ff.
 D. Quix. = Cervantes, *El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, 1605-15 (Facsimile).
 Diego Sanchez = Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilacion en Metro*; reimpresa por D. V. Barrantes, 1882-86.
 Encina = Juan del Encina, *Teatro completo*, 1893.
 Est. God. = Arçobispo Don Rodrigo, *Estoria de los Godos*. In *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos*. . . . ; t. LXXXVIII, 1887, pp. 1 ff.
 F. Avilés = *El Fuero de Avilés*; discurso leído por D. A. Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, 1865.
 Fernandez-Guerra = Fernandez-Guerra, *Muestra del Lenguaje asturiano y leonés durante el Siglo XIII*. In F. Avilés, pp. 67 ff.
 Férotin = Férotin, *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos*, 1897.
 F. Juzgo = *Fuero Juzgo*, 1815.
 Florencia = *Agut (l. Agut) comienza el Cuento muy fermoso del Enperador Ottas de Roma et de la Infante Florencia*. . . . In Rios, *Hist. crit.*, Vol. V, pp. 391 ff.

- Flores = Pedro Espinosa and Juan Antonio Calderón, *Primera [y segunda] Parte de las Flores de Poetas ilustres de España*; ed. por D. J. Quirós de los Ríos y D. F. R. Marín, 1896.
- Garcilaso = Garcilaso de la Vega, *Poetas*. In A. de Castro, *Poetas Uricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII*; t. 1, 1872, pp. 3 ff.
- Gatos = *Libro de los Gatos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 543 ff.
- Gil Blas = *Historia de Gil Blas de Santillana por Le Sage*, traducida al castellano por el Padre Isla, Leipzig, 1883.
- Gil Vicente = Gil Vicente, *Ocho Representaciones*. In [Böhl de Faber] *Teatro español anterior á Lope de Vega*, 1832, pp. 39 ff.
- Grünbaum = Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, 1896.
- Hohelied = *Das Hohelied in castilianischer Sprache des XIII. Jahrhunderts . . .*; von J. Cornu.
- Horozco = S. de Horozco, *Cancionero*, 1874.
- Iosaphat = *La Estoria del Rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam*; von F. Lauchert. In *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. VII, pp. 331 ff.
- Iosep = *Este Tratado se llama el Libro de Iosep ab Arimatia e otrosi Libro del sancto Grial* . . . MS Bibl. Part. de S. M. 2-G-5.
- J. Mena = Juan de Mena, *Obras*, 1804.
- J. Ruiz = Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen Amor*; texte . . . p. p. J. Ducamin, 1901.
- Juan Manuel = Don Juan Manuel, *Obras*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 229 ff.
- Lazarillo = *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* . . . ; restitución de la ed. princ. por R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1900.
- Lope de Rueda = Lope de Rueda, *Obras*, 1895-96.
- Lucanor = Juan Manuel, *El Libro de los Enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio*; Text und Anmerkungen aus dem Nachlasse von H. Knust h. v. A. Birch-Hirschfeld, 1900.
- Lucas Fernandez = Lucas Fernandez, *Farsas y Églogas*, 1867.
- Maria Eg. = *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 307 ff.
- Merlin = *Aquí comienza la Estoria de Merlin* . . . MS Bibl. Part. de S. M. 2-G-5.
- Milag. = [Berceo] *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 103 ff.
- Nov. ej. = Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, Leipzig, 1883.
- P. Cid = *Poema del Cid*; nueva ed. por R. Menéndez Pidal, 1898.
- Plácidas = *De vn Cauallero Plácidas* . . . In Knust, *Dos Obras didácticas y dos Leyendas*, 1878, pp. 123 ff.
- Primavera = Wolf and Hofmann, *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, 1856.
- Quatro Doctores = *La Estoria de los quatro Doctores de la santa Iglesia*; h. v. F. Lauchert, 1897.
- Quevedo = Quevedo Villegas, *Obras*, 1876-77.
- Reyes de Or. = *Libro de los Reyes de Oriente*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 319 ff.
- Reyes Magos = *Auto de los Reyes Magos*. In Menéndez Pidal, *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpe y Auto de los Reyes Magos*, 1900.
- Rim. Pal. = *Este Libro fizo el honrrado Caballero Pero Lopez de Ayala* . . . e llámase el *Libro de Palacio*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 425 ff.
- Rrey Guill. = *Aquí comienza la Estoria del Rrey Guillelme*. In Knust, *Dos Obras didácticas*, pp. 171 ff.
- Sacr. = [Berceo] *Del Sacrificio de la Missa*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 80 ff.
- Salamantina = Palau, *La Farsa llamada Salamantina*; p. p. A. Morel-Fatio, 1900.
- Sancho IV = Rey Don Sancho, *Castigos é Documentos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 79 ff.
- S. Catalina = *De Santa Catalina*. In Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca*, 1890, pp. 232 ff.
- S. Dom. = [Berceo] *Escomienza la Vida del glorioso Confesor Sancto Domingo de Silos*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 39 ff.
- S. Emper. = *Aquí comienza un muy fermoso Cuento de una santa Emperatriz* . . . In [Wiener] *Sitzungsber.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 508 ff.
- Seuilla = *Aquí comienza vn noble Cuento del Enperador Carlos Maynes de Rroma é de la buena Enperatriz Seuilla* . . . In Rios, *Hist. crit.*, Vol. V, pp. 344 ff.
- S. Ildef. = El Beneficiado de Ubeda, *Vida de San Ildefonso*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 323 ff.
- S. Juan de la Peña = *Historia de la Corona* . . . conocida generalmente con el *Nombre de Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, 1876.
- S. Oria = [Berceo] *Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 137 ff.
- S. Teresa = Santa Teresa, *Escritos*; añadidos é ilustrados por D. V. de la Fuente, 1877-79.
- Tirso = Tirso de Molina, *Comedias escogidas*; juntas en coleccion por D. J. E. Hartzenbusch, 1866.
- Torres Naharro = Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*; reimprimela D. M. Caffete, 1880-1900.
- Vigil = Vigil, *Coleccion histórico-diplomática del Ayuntamiento de Oviedo*, 1889.

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